

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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S E C R E T STATE 183008 TOSEC 080088

EXDIS, FROM DICK MOOSE

E.O. 11652:XGDS-3

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK

SUBJECT:RHODESIA: BRITISH REDRAFT OF SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL

REF:A. STATE 182210 (TOSEC 080073; 0. STATE 182211 (TOSEC
080075)

1. SIR JOHN MORETON CALLED ME LATE THIS AFTERNOON TO
SAY THAT HE HAD JUST TALKED AGAIN TO JOHN GRAHAM. GRAHAM
HAD RELAYED TO MORETON OWEN'S LATEST COMMENTS REGARDING AN
AGREED UK-US POSITION ON RHODESIAN PROPOSALS.

2. OWEN SAID THAT, WITH REGARD TO A LINK BETWEEN IMPLE-
MENTATION OF THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND AND ACCEPTANCE
OF ALL SETTLEMENT PROVISIONS, HE WOULD BUY OUR LANGUAGE:
"THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUING OPERATION OF THE FUND IS
PREDICATED ON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE" (REFTEL A),HOWEVER, HE ADDED THAT
THE "PRIVATE MINUTEMUST STAND AS AGREED. I EXPRESSED
SATISFACTION AT OWEN'S RESPONSE BUT NOTED THAT YOU HAD
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NOT HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONSIDER OUR PROPOSAL YOURSELF.
I DID, HOWEVER, ASSURE MORETON THAT YOUR AGREEMENT TO
THE AGREED MINUTE STOOD.

3. OWEN SAID HE WOULD BE WILLING TO CONTEMPLATE SOME
REFERENCE IN THE PAPER TO A UN FORCE, IN "ELUSIVE TERMS."

OWEN STATED THAT HE IS NOT GOING BACK ON WHAT HE SAID TO YOU AND THE PRESIDENT ABOUT A UN FORCE. NEVERTHELESS, INSTEAD OF HIS PREVIOUS POSITION, WHICH WAS THAT WE SHOULD PRESS FOR A UN FORCE, HE NOW SAYS THAT OUR POSITION SHOULD NOT "PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY" OF A UN FORCE. HE SAID, FURTHER, THAT THE DETAILS OF WHAT THE UN FORCE WOULD DO IN RHODESIA SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE UK RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

4. MORETON POINTED OUT THAT OWEN HAD STRESSED THAT HE WAS NOT BACKING DOWN IN ANY WAY, BUT THAT HE BELIEVES ANYONE WHO MUST RUN -HE PEACEKEEPING OPERATION WOULD HAVE TO WORK OUT ARRANGEMENTS ON THE GROUND INSOFAR AS POSSIBLE. HE BELIEVES IT WOULD BE HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT A FORCE CREATED BY THE UN WOULD CONSTITUTE A SIGNIFICANT OR RELIABLE FORCE. THE MORE WE DESCRIBE IN ADVANCE AN IMPORTANT ROLE FOR A UN FORCE, THE LESS LIKELY WE ARE TO GET OTHER COUNTRIES TO CONTRIBUTE MEN TO IT. COMMENT: IT WOULD APPEAR THAT OWEN, FEARFUL OF OUR ABILITY TO ORGANIZE A SIGNIFICANT UN FORCE, HOPES THAT THE NECESSITY FOR SUCH A FORCE CAN BE OBIATED BY A SUCCESSFUL PRIOR NEGOTIATION ON THE TRANSITION STATUS OF RHODESIAN AND BLACK NATIONALIST FORCES. THE ARGUMENT, TO ME, APPEARS TO BE TAUTOLOGICAL.

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5. WITH RESPECT TO THE AMPLIFICATION OF ANNEX B (PARA 6 REFTEL A, OWEN HAS AGREED TO LET THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE STAND RATHER THAN TO MAKE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO EXTENDING DISCRIMINATORY LAWS, AMNESTY AND THE ASSUMPTION OF LIABILITIES.

6. SPEAKING CONFIDENTIALLY, MORETON TOLD ME THAT A MESSAGE FROM CALLAGHAN TO THE PRESIDENT IS IN PREPARATION AND THAT IT MIGHT SUGGEST AN EARLIER PUBLIC RELEASE OF OUR JOINT STATEMENT ON SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS. THIS DESIRE APPARENTLY REFLECTS OWEN'S FEAR OF PREMATURE, PARTIAL DISCLOSURE.

7. BREWSTER CALLED ME FROM LONDON TONIGHT AND ADDED THESE POINTS ON THE BASIS OF A CONVERSATION WITH OWEN FOLLOWING THE CABINET MEETING:

A. OWEN HAS ASSURED HIM THAT HE NOW HAS THE "SOLID BACKING OF THE CABINET AND THE PRIME MINISTER." COMMENT: WHAT WE CAN'T BE SURE OF, IN VIEW OF TODAY'S BACK AND FORTH, IS WHAT OWEN PUT TO THE CABINET.

B. WITH REGARD TO PRESSURES ON SOUTH AFRICA, BREWSTER

ALSO TOLD ME, AS MORETON HAD EARLIER, THAT THE BRITISH
COULD GO ALONG WITH APPROACHES TO THE OIL COMPANIES FOR
VOLUNTARY ACTION, AND WITH END USER CERTIFICATE SCHEME.
AT THE OTHER END OF THE SPECTRUM OF POSSIBLE PRESSURES,
BREWSTER SAID OWEN COULD NOT CONSIDER A BLOCKADE (WE HAVE
NEVER THOUGHT THIS A SERIOUS POSSIBILITY OURSELVES).
COMMENT: BETWEEN THESE EXTREMES LIE THE ONLY SIGNIFICANT,
REALISTIC POSSIBILITIES. THUS, WE KNOW LITTLE MORE NOW
ON THIS QUESTION THAN WE DID BEFORE. BUT IN ALL HONESTY
WE DON'T KNOW HOW MUCH WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO DO EITHER.

8. COMMENT: IN THE COURSE OF THE DAY, OWEN HAS GONE
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PART WAY TO MEETING SOME OF THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED IN
REFERENCE B. CONSIDERABLE UNCERTAINTY REMAINS, HOWEVER,
WITH REGARD TO SANCTIONS (AS NOTED ABOVE) AND THE PEACE-
KEEPING QUESTION. WITH REGARD TO THE LATTER, OWEN'S
SUPER CAUTIOUS ATTITUDE TOWARD ANY REFERENCE TO A UN
FORCE POSES A SIGNIFICANT POTENTIAL PROBLEM: OWEN SEEMS
TO WANT TO SIDESTEP THE PEACEKEEPING QUESTION. WE
BELIEVE THAT A SOLUTION TO THIS ISSUE, BY WHICH WE MEAN
A FORMULATION REGULATING THE STATUS OF RHODESIAN
AND BLACK NATIONALIST FORCES DURING THE TRANSITION
PERIOD, IS A CENTRAL ELEMENT OF ANY COMPREHENSIVE
PROPOSAL. AS SUCH, THIS QUESTION CANNOT BE LEFT TO BE
SORTED OUT AT SOME INDETERMINATE FUTURE TIME BY THE UK
REPRESENTATIVE AND THE UN. THIS IS OBVIOUSLY THE SORT OF
ISSUE WHICH WE CANNOT RESOLVE UNTIL WE ARE ALL TOGETHER
IN LONDON. CHRISTOPHER

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